IN MEMORY OF ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG, DIED JUNE 19, 1953

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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POLITICS

Nixon fate in doubt if Ike makes race; Kefauver hope dim

By Elmer Bendiner

SHORTLY BEFORE four surgeons began to operate on President Eisenhower at Walter Reed Hospital, Vice President Richard Nixon told a gathering of Young Republicans in Washington that he felt in his heart that the President would "be back on the firing line very, very soon."

While the President was still enduring the discomforts of a rubber pipe drain in his nose, press secy. James Hagerty unhesitatingly told reporters that should any national crisis arise, it would be handled by the President from his hospital bed.

Less than 12 hours after the operation Dr. Isador S. Ravdin, one of the operating surgeons, briefed newsmen on the President's "right paramedician incision" in one of the most clinical press conferences on record. He unreservedly made a political prognosis: The President could run again; his life expectancy was "improved" by the operation; in 4-6 weeks he could resume "full duties"; by convention time, mid-August, he could resume golfing.

Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post Dispatch

COURSE CHARTED

The atmosphere at Walter Reed Hospital, as at the White House, was one of elaborate casualness. Everywhere Republicans were behaving as if the intestinal obstruction which necessitated a two-hour operation, beginning at 2:59 a.m. on June 9, was trivial, in a class with Averell Harriman's prostate gland operation a month earlier, or Adlai Stevenson's gall bladder surgery.

A COURSE IS CHARTED: Though most diagnosticians agreed that the President's condition was "excellent," there was some doubt that Nixon would survive the operation. When the President was stricken with a heart attack last Sept. 24, the Vice President's supporters seemed eager to rush him into the Presidency and were balked by the efforts of Eisenhower's aide Sherman Adams. After that Nixon was more subdued. When the President announced on Feb. 29 that he would run again there was considerable doubt that Nixon would be his running-mate.

As polls came in showing that Nixon would cost Eisenhower votes, it became apparent that only Eisenhower's insistence could keep Nixon on the ticket, despite a certain support for the vice president from party regulars. Eisenhower's support came falteringly. He made his affection plain but was hesitant about accepting Nixon as a running mate. He dropped strong hints that Nixon might do better elsewhere. In the end he left it to the vice president to chart his course. As the hot breath of scandal, involving his

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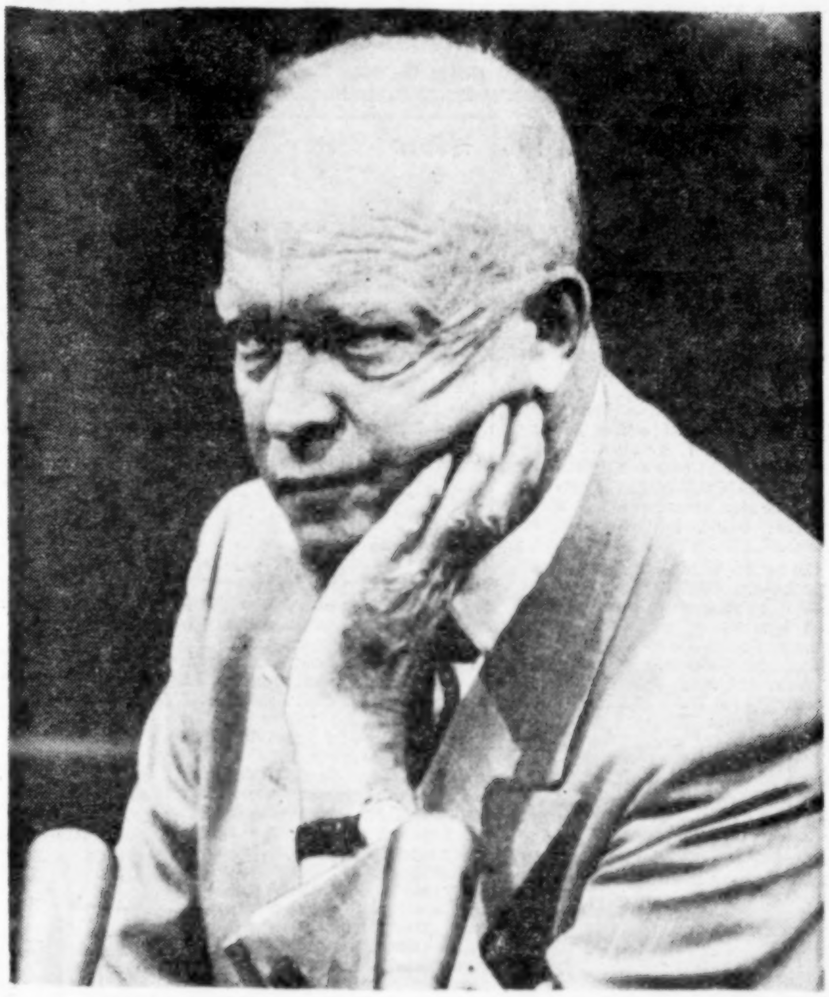

To run, or not to run . . . .

A WAR BETWEEN U. S. AND RUSSIA IS UNTHINKABLE, BUT . . .

Colonialism's dying grasp imperils permanent peace

By Kumar Goshal

EVIDENCE is piling up all over the world of a growing conviction that a third world war involving the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. is unthinkable. There is equal evidence that the small-scale wars now going on, and the preparations being made for possible future big wars, are motivated by the desire of colonial powers to maintain profitable control over raw materials and markets for finished goods.

In the U. S., said **The Nation** (6/2), "gently but insistently" the idea is beginning to spread that "the outlook is for peace with Russia, not war—and for a long time to come." From Moscow, **Reuters** reported (6/6) that Premier Bulganin explained the recent drastic Soviet cut in the armed forces by saying: "There is nowhere a possibility of war breaking out. In Europe, Britain will not start a war, the French do not want it, the Germans cannot make it."

ATOMS FOR PEACE: A delegation of U. S. scientists, attending a conference in Moscow, reported May 21 that Soviet nuclear physicists two years ago had transferred all their activities to peacetime developments. These scientists, who were allowed complete freedom of observation and discussion, said they were "convinced that the Soviet Union has undertaken a gigantic program of nuclear energy research for peacetime purposes that may outdo similar efforts in the U. S." (N. Y. Times, 5/22).

In a "carefully courteous" letter (NYT, 6/9) to President Eisenhower on June 7 Bulganin called on the U. S., Britain and France to cut their armed forces in Germany without waiting for an over-all disarmament agreement. Copies of this letter were sent simultaneously to Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer, British Prime Minister Eden and French Premier Mollet.

Herblock in Washington Post

"It's not in the plane-spotting manual at all."

Since the UN disarmament conference has developed complications, Bulganin said, even token reductions of the forces of the four powers in Germany would contribute "to further lessening of international tension and to strengthening of mutual trust among nations." He said such action could later lead to further reductions or complete withdrawal of foreign troops from German territory.

STRONG REACTION: Officially London, Bonn and Paris joined Washington in dismissing the Soviet proposal as propaganda. It was admitted, however, that the proposal was masterfully timed and would have a profound effect in Western Europe.

NYT reported (6/9) a strong demand for revising defense planning and sharp reduction in arms expenditures in Britain. Adenauer and his government was reported to be meeting powerful opposition to rearming W. Germany. An already militarily overburdened France was stubbornly resisting the government's plan to increase taxation to finance the Algerian war. In Japan, the government's plan for a substantial "defense force" to satisfy U. S. demands was meeting solid popular opposition. In the U. S., even Vice President Richard Nixon shrewdly sized up

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A young soldier recently became a conscientious objector and sought spiritual counsel from his army chaplain. The latter discouraged the C.O. from seeking a discharge on the grounds of conscience. The C.O. said that his conscience would no longer permit him to shoot the enemy. The chaplain advised him to "fire over their heads."

NEWS NOTES, Central Comm. for Conscientious Objectors

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Clara R. Wise, Hiawatha, Kansas. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

Back to sanity

ELYRIA, OHIO.

For those who don't feel that they can support either of the two old parties, I think I know a better plan: call a NATIONAL GUARDIAN convention of all liberals and progressives at some central point, like Chicago or Indianapolis.

Draw up a platform or set of resolutions that the majority of the delegates could support, not too lengthy or with too many planks. Stress the most important demands: Peace, repeal the Smith Act and move back to sanity. Work for a change in our system from private profit to production for use, conservation of our national resources and flood control on a national scale.

Do not form a political party, or name any candidates for office. Urge all who agree with our program or platform to withold their support from those who oppose it. **Old Timer.**

The big lesson

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

It should be axiomatic that the wider number of people who participate in leadership and social responsibility, the more justice, harmony and decency will prevail. This is the democratic point of view and the socialist point of view, and all those who are against it are, whether they know it or not, neither democrats nor socialists.

The big lesson to be drawn from the present Soviet experience, I think, is this: socialism is no guarantee against the ravages of stupidity or ignorance, and the evils of megalomaniacs. Intelligence, courage and honesty are as necessary to socialism as they are to any other system. **Al Amery**

A better socialism

NEW YORK, N.Y.

. . . A very interesting point arises. It seems socialism (the highest form of economic democracy) can exist in a country despite the lack of complete freedom of expression and the lack of the full opportunity for criticism. This, no doubt, hinders the full development of socialism. People on the left who believe in the socialist principles must maintain vigilance to see that socialism is combined with the greatest amount of democracy.

There is one further point to be made in reference to Stalin. It must be remembered that in a historical sense Stalin developed in a period when two tremendous assaults were launched at the Soviet state. I refer to the period after the revolution when hostile armies sought to destroy the new society and in more recent times the Nazi attack. It was pretty apparent that the capitalist world had in one form or another constantly sought the destruction of socialism in Soviet Russia. A small power on the world scene, just emerging and trying to develop into a real world power, would naturally produce the type of personality who would necessarily become to some extent hardened and somewhat intolerant of opposition.

The important thing is to discover something is wrong and pursue a healthy and democratic road after correcting the policy which raises the individual to too great heights. The Soviets now say they have a collective leadership and the way to co-existence and permanent peace is to accept this policy as more in line with our own ideas of democracy so that both powers can always negotiate on a friendly basis. **S. P.**

Swell the protest

LAKE HELEN, FLA.

New horrors for political prisoners in Greece! How many of us readers of the GUARDIAN, I wonder, will be writing our protests to the UN or the Greek government? As I recall the figure there are some 35,000 subscribers. If each one of us should write, this must make some impact. Is it too naive to think they might both be surprised and influenced? **Vivian Davenport**

Philatel-tale

CHICAGO, ILL.

It says here just as plain as day and by the light of Miss Liberty: Service Above Self. This on our 8c postage stamp (Rotary Commemorative). Has subversion crept into that Dept. too? **Dr. Ralph R. Sackley**

Shoes for fighters

OAKLAND, CALIF.

There is a campaign going on now in the San Francisco Bay area called "Shoes for the Fighters Feet," with a program consisting of collecting shoes of a repairable nature, or better, for the civil rights fighters in Montgomery, Ala.

Negro shoemakers of Oakland are contributing their services and it is hoped that white shoemakers will volunteer to help them fix the shoes that are starting to come in. So to the good readers of the GUARDIAN hereabouts:

Have you at least one pair of shoes to contribute? Please send them to: 1121 Eighth St., Oakland. **Mrs. Ziliaca Williams**

Way down Eastland

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Now the hindmost man there
could be anywhere,
Takes up the Senate's foremost
chair.
High and mighty there he sits,
High and mighty there he spits
Down on all our laws.
Above the law he gaily skips,
Jolly Jim with his comic
strips—
What gives him the loudest
laughs and guffaws?
The Bill of Rights—to the very
last clause. **Eve Merriam**

Total recall?

CASPER, WYO.

With this war burden of taxation hanging over us with no sign of a let-up, how about giving us something in the pages of the GUARDIAN on the subject of enacting the initiative, referendum and recall? **William Trillinger**

Confucius vs. Dulles

RICHMOND, CALIF.

Our anti-Chinese policy is building up hatred for us in a quarter of the human race—the quarter which produced Confucius when our ancestors were hunting game in German forests; invented gunpowder when our ancestors were using bows and arrows; printing when our ancestor did not know what a book was and could communicate only by messengers; with an area as richly endowed by nature as ours but one quarter larger. Our statesmen are sacrificing national health and national education to the military. **J. N. McCullough**

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"I found out why the government budget balances. They collect taxes instead of paying them."

Natural resources

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The N.Y. **Times** of May 21 carries an important article dealing with the human resources of the U.S. I refer to the excerpt of the Cal. Tech. "Report on Brain Power." In the guise of a scientific analysis of the 21st century, it promulgates a cold war program of education for 1956.

The report states that the "critical limiting factor on the world's resources is . . . brainpower." This eliminates the nature of monopoly capitalism as the basic factor holding back the development of the world's resources—including the most important resource: mankind.

It calls for an all-out drive to create a scientific elite, tied to the present social system and educated for technological development. No mention is made of the necessity for a democratic ideology or a broad humanism to provide a set of goals for this technology.

The report ignores the mass of the population, accepting the current thesis that the majority of youth are incapable of an education to a high level. It poses for the distant future the development of a scientific understanding of the laws of learning that will enable the enrichment of our intellectual resources. The report notes that "as this happens, a larger and larger percentage of adults will become capable of significant intellectual achievement."

This thesis contradicts the basic assumption in the whole article, namely, that I.Q. is a measurable quantity that is determined by heredity. The crying need is for an immediate program to develop the human resources of our people. It involves a political program to eliminate segregation, etc., and a scientific psychology, particularly in the laws of learning.

A Philadelphia Teacher

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REPORT TO READERS

Trenton — and after

FIVE YEARS AGO this week, the GUARDIAN was able to announce in joyful headlines: "Victory! 4 of the Trenton 6 free!" Three years earlier these six young Negro men had been in death cells, convicted of a murder they could not have committed. The trial reeked of frameup and false confessions extracted from drugged and tortured men. Unimpeachable witnesses placing each of them far from the scene of the crime were ignored.

That was in the summer of 1948—the trial was going on during the founding convention of the Progressive Party in nearby Philadelphia. Some of us attending that convention learned of the case there, but at that time we had not yet managed to get the GUARDIAN into publication.

When we did—in October, 1948—the Trenton Case became our first great campaign. "Is there a Northern Scottsboro Case in Trenton, N.J.?", our Oct. 25 headline asked. Our subsequent stories turning up the sordid facts of the frameup reached far shores, even though the GUARDIAN was only weeks old at the time and reaching only a handful of readers. Protests came from London, Paris, and finally forced attention to the case here. The Civil Rights Congress, although heavily burdened with the first Foley Square Smith Act cases, pitched in on behalf of the Six. Paul Robeson went to Trenton and sang at a mass meeting to rally support for their appeal. At the GUARDIAN's request, attorney O. John Rogge entered the case.

In June, 1949, the N.J. Supreme Court reversed the convictions and ordered a new trial. That trial ended in June, 1951, as the headline above reported, in freedom for four of the men and a jury recommendation of "mercy" for two in what was later disclosed as a jury-room deal. One of the two, Collis English, died in prison; the other, Ralph Cooper, was eventually freed.

BUT EVEN AS the Trenton Six were vindicated, a new and deeply disturbing case brought requests from GUARDIAN readers, proposing the same sort of inquiry we had undertaken in the Trenton Case. Attorney Emanuel H. Bloch came to our office with the trial record of the convictions of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell; asked us to read the material and decide whether this case merited a GUARDIAN campaign.

The rest is well-known history—a tragic, ennobling, universal effort to save the lives of the man and woman executed three years ago this week—on June 19, 1953—while a world bowed its head in grief and shame. Yet out of this immense struggle there has continued a world determination to vindicate the Rosenbergs and to free Morton Sobell from a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz.

THIS ISSUE of the GUARDIAN contains much material of great value to those carrying on the effort to secure justice for Sobell and expose the frameup methods which brought about the Rosenberg-Sobell indictments and convictions.

We are most fortunate to be able to excerpt a chapter from Cedric Belfrage's forthcoming book, **The Case of the Frightened Giant**, giving his recollections of those unforgettable months. Also for this issue Belfrage has interviewed Lord Bertrand Russell, Britain's foremost mathematician, who has recently taken the lead in England for justice for Morton Sobell. Our "Spectator" this week is Albert Maltz, writing on "the book" (John Wexley's **The Judgment of Julius & Ethel Rosenberg**) which has done so much to focus world opinion anew on the Rosenberg-Sobell tragedy.

We most earnestly hope you will put this week's GUARDIAN to use among your friends to win new and needed support for bringing Sobell's case to the Supreme Court if necessary, on the basis of new and indisputable evidence of falsification and perjury against him.

—THE GUARDIAN

DICTATOR'S LATEST VICTIM?

The Galindez mystery and the Trujillo horror

ON APRIL 28, 1935, Sergio Bencosme was shaving in his landlady's apartment at 87 Hamilton Place in uptown Manhattan. He heard a commotion, came into the living room, his face still covered with lather. A gunman fired twice and Bencosme fell mortally wounded.

On Oct. 2, 1952, Andres Requena took a taxicab to 243 Madison St. on the East Side, told the cabbie to wait for him. While he scanned the house directory two shots were fired and Requena died instantly.

Last March 12 Dr. Jesus de Galindez finished his lecture on Latin American affairs at Columbia University, had coffee with some students. A friend drove him to Columbus Circle. He walked down a flight of subway stairs and disappeared without a trace.

COMMON ENEMY: All three were inveterate foes of Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, dictator of the Dominican Republic. The deaths and disappearances have never been solved by police.

The closest the police came to a solution was when the dying Bencosme in 1935 identified his murderer as Luis de la Fuente Rubirosa. A N.Y. County grand jury indicted Rubirosa on Feb. 18, 1936, but by then he was back in the Dominican Republic and all efforts to extradite him failed. Police inquiries incidentally turned up the news that shortly before the murder, Luis Rubirosa's cousin, Porfirio, conferred with him at the Dominican consulate. Porfirio went home the day before the shooting. He was then a son-in-law of Trujillo and a captain in his army. Years later he rose to be the husband successively of Danielle Darrieux, Doris Duke and Barbara Hutton.

Look last month published an article by a Dominican exile, Wenzell Brown, who wrote:

"Two weeks before Andres Requena died, he telephoned me and gave me the name of a consular official who had threatened him with death. I was convinced of his danger. The sister of this man once shrieked at me: 'If Trujillo doesn't kill you, my brother will'."

SOME TIPS: The **Look** story nowhere identified that official but as soon as the issue hit the stands, Felix W. Bernardino, ex-consul general of the Dominican Republic in New York, filed a $500,000 libel suit against **Look** and Brown. Bernardino's name first cropped up in connection with the murder when it was disclosed that among the copy being prepared for a forthcoming issue of Requena's anti-Trujillo paper was a story by Requena reporting that Bernardino had threatened to shoot him "under any lamppost in New York."

Dr. Galindez also left behind some tips on his disappearance: a note dated Oct. 4, 1952,—just two days after Requena's death—saying that if anything happened to him, authorities should seek the guilty parties in the Dominican Republic. He also left a book, **The Era of Trujillo,** a doctorate thesis for Columbia University. Taking all precautions to assure publication, he sent a Spanish version of the book, to be published soon, to Chile.

Galindez' book is an inside story. A Spaniard, he fled from the Franco regime to the Dominican Republic in 1940. He stayed there for six years, taught at the diplomatic school and served as consultant in Trujillo's Ministries of Labor and Foreign Affairs.

THE RECORD: The book, according to the Spansh text as summarized by the **N.Y. Times,** documents the quarter-century of horrors under Trujillo's dictatorship, counts 140 political assassinations. (Most reporters put the figure higher but in any case the record is bloodied by massacres of Haitians and others, nationwide terrorization, mass imprisonments.) Galindez' book also tells how Trujillo appropriated the entire nation as the private property of his family and is preparing to pass it on to his son Ramfis, who was commissioned as a full colonel in the Dominican Army at the age of four.

Police investigations apparently ran into a blank wall. They learned only that a few days after Galindez vanished, the Dominican freighter Angelica left New York and five hours later returned. Officials said it had engine trouble. Beyond that, the police said they found no clues.

A score of organizations in the U.S. and overseas appealed to the FBI to enter the case. The N.Y. **Times** charged editorially (4/28):

"There has been a feeling that the authorities—especially the FBI—are not doing enough . . . It should be clear by now that many people, organizations and educational institutions are profoundly aroused."

President Eisenhower in his press conference on May 9 said the FBI was "standing by" but had no "right to step in."

OTHER THREATS: The repercussions were felt throughout the hemisphere. The Chilean Foreign Office reported that an effort to kidnap the wife of a Chilean associate of Galindez had narrowly been frustrated in Los Angeles and ordered the Chilean consul there to increase her protection. (She is studying at the University of California at Los Angeles.) Havana police said a Dominican agent revealed he had been offered $100,000 to assassinate Galindez but had found the job too risky even at that price. In New York other Dominicans reported death threats.

In Ciudad Trujillo the Generalissimo brushed aside the finger of accusation by calling the reports "scandalous libel" perpetrated by "Communist mice."

In New York Trujillo defended himself through the counsel of the Dominican government, Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. ($60,000 a year). On May 1 Roosevelt wrote to Atty. Gen. Brownell asking him to "exert and exhaust every effort" to solve the disappearance.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III answered Roosevelt: "I am sure it would assist in the investigation of this matter to know whether you have addressed any such appeal to the government of the Dominican Republic, for which you are a registered agent, and, if so, the nature of the response."

Roosevelt retired from politics after losing the race for N.Y. State attorney general on the Democratic ticket in 1954. He resumed private law practice and accepted the Dominican government as his client. In a formal statement he accused Olney of seeking to make "domestic political hay" and denounced as "vicious" the "implications that perhaps there is some connection between the Dominican government and Dr. Galindez' disappearance."

Last week it was reported that Roosevelt's connection with Trujillo might cost him his delegate's seat at the Democratic National Convention.

APPEAL TO IKE: In Bermuda the Inter-American Press Assn., representing 450 newspapers in the U.S. and Latin America, called on President Eisenhower to put a stop to "international terrorism," citing the Dominican Republic as an example. At the same meeting the IAPA expelled Stanley Ross, publisher of the Spanish-language **El Diario de Nueva York** after reading a letter signed "Stanley Ross" in which it was proposed that Trujillo buy **El Diario** in exchange for a pro-Trujillo editorial policy.

Galindez had conducted a column for **El Diario.** Ross denies all present links to Trujillo, though in 1947-49, according to **Latin America Today,** he was president of a syndicate "formed to publish **El Caribe** which was—and remains—Trujillo's house organ."

Galindez memorial meetings were set for June 12 in eleven countries, according to the Inter-American Assn. for Democracy and Freedom. Some 20 organizations announced support of the N.Y. meeting to be held in the Community Church, 35th St. and Park Ave., at 8 p.m. Speakers included Dominicans in exile and representatives of the Basque and Spanish exile governments. Norman Thomas was to preside.

IN TRUJILLOLAND FREEDOM COMES IN A BLACK CASKET
Pickets demonstrating during the dictator's 1953 Washington visit

WITCH-HUNTERS CALL HIM

Court upholds the State Dept. on Robeson passport denial

FOR 28 YEARS, beginning in 1922, actor-singer Paul Robeson regularly traveled abroad on concert tours with no questions asked. But by 1950 he had incurred the disfavor of the State Dept. because of his political views and in August that year the department announced cancellation of his passport and alerted all border officials to prevent his exit from the country. For the last six years Robeson has fought insistently in and out of court for his constitutional right to freedom of movement.

Last week the fight was still not won. On June 7 the Federal Court of Appeals unanimously refused to order the State Dept. to issue him a passport. At the same time, Robeson was under orders to appear at a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, notwithstanding doctors' advice that Robeson is ill and in need of complete rest for at least two months.

"INVASION OF LIBERTY": The latest court action was instituted last July when Robeson, through attorney Leonard B. Boudin, filed a suit asking the Federal District Court to direct the State Dept. to issue a passport and challenging the legality of State Dept. regulations under which passports are denied. On Aug. 16 last year Judge Burnita S. Matthews ruled that Robeson had not exhausted the administrative procedures open to him. Robeson has twice declined to participate in hearings offered by the State Dept. and has consistently refused to sign an affidavit concerning his political beliefs. He said: "Of course I won't sign. I consider it an invasion of every constitutional liberty I have."

Although the U. S. Court of Appeals has held in another case that "the right to travel . . . is a natural right," the eight-man panel on June 7 upheld Judge Matthews' decision. Boudin said the ruling was "based upon a narrow procedural ground" and that "the fundamental legal problem of the constitutional right to travel and to a passport regardless of politics remains open." He said he would decide soon whether to appeal the ruling, seek a rehearing or make another application to the State Dept.

MANY OFFERS ABROAD: Robeson recently was excused from an appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities but this time was ordered to appear on June 12 regardless of his health. Robeson has agreed to go through with the hearing, but his attorney Milton H. Friedman has arranged for a physician in Washington to examine Robeson upon his arrival and again before he takes the stand.

Robeson underwent major surgery last fall but announced on Jan. 19 he was fully recovered. He said:

"My plans for resuming my career as an artist are bound up, of course, with the matter of getting a passport; and I hope that soon this issue will be favorably resolved so that I will be able to accept the many offers that have come for concert, stage and film engagements in other lands."

His current illness calls for absolute rest.

The Committee's passport probe is designed to show a "Communist plot" but persons questioned so far have been confined to those who have attended international peace congresses in recent years.

PAUL ROBESON
A matter of a man's rights

Give This Paper
To A Friend

A summary of the secret Khrushchev report on Stalin

On June 5 the N. Y. Times published the text of what it said "purported to be a version of the speech delivered by Nikita S. Khrushchev, First Secy. of the Soviet Communist Party, at a secret session of the party's Twentieth Congress in Moscow, Feb. 24 and 25, 1956." The version was said to have been prepared for use by a Communist Party outside the Soviet Union. It was obtained and released by the U. S. State Dept. which did not "vouch for its authenticity."

The text so tallies with earlier reports as gathered by the GUARDIAN from European sources that there seems to be no question of its authenticity; though it is admittedly not the complete speech. Khrushchev is said to have talked for seven hours, which would make a considerably longer document than the Times' four pages. This is a summary of the version published by the Times:

AFTER THE 1934 MURDER of Sergei M. Kirov under circumstances still "inexplicable and mysterious" the "mass repressions" began. On Dec. 1 a directive was issued "on Stalin's initiative" ordering that those convicted of "preparation or execution of acts of terror" be executed immediately after sentence without allowing for the possibility of pardon. Stalin thereafter repeatedly prodded the NKVD to speed up its work. Political arrests increased ten-fold in 1936-37 over the previous year.

In 1937-38, 98 out of the 139 members and candidates of the CP Central Committee elected at the 1934 congress were shot. Of 1,966 delegates to that congress, 1,108 were later arrested and most of them executed. That congress was called "The Congress of Victors" because most of the delegates had fought for the revolution long before 1917. They were executed only "because honest Communists were slandered, accusations against them were fabricated and revolutionary legality was gravely undermined." Stalin had begun "mass terror against the party cadres."

THE LENINGRAD PLOT: From 1937 to 1941 Stalin annihilated "many military commanders and political workers . . . because of his suspiciousness and through slanderous accusations. Leaders with military experience in Spain and the Far East were "almost completely liquidated."

After World War II, Stalin "fabricated" the Leningrad plot in which high officials were executed because his "unbelievable suspicion" was taken advantage of by "the abject provocateur and vile enemy [Lavrenti] Beria" who feared some leaders as rivals. These were among the liquidated. Stalin "personally supervised" the Leningrad purge.

Stalin also personally supervised the arrest of the Jewish doctors in 1953. The case was "fabricated from beginning to end." Stalin said that academician Vinogradov "should be put in chains, another one should be beaten." He told one official: "If you do not obtain confessions from the doctors we will shorten you by a head."

THE OLD BOLSHEVIKS: Shortly before he died, Stalin "evidently had plans to finish off the old members of the Political Bureau." He "toyed" with the suspicion that Chief of State Marshal Klimenti Voroshilov was an English agent, voiced "baseless charges" against Molotov and Mikoyan: "It is not excluded that had Stalin remained at the helm for another several months, Comrades Molotov and Mikoyan would probably have not delivered any speeches at this Congress."

Herblock in Washington Post

"Look at it this way—it's great to be alive."

"FROM THE LIFE AND WORK OF JOSEPH STALIN"

That's how this propaganda picture (1949), taken at a Russian airport, was entitled. In the center (with cap): N. K. Khrushchev.

Militarily Stalin bungled. The war was won despite his leadership. Hitler found the Soviet Union unprepared because Stalin ignored evidence of German military build-ups, warnings by Winston Churchill, Stafford Cripps, Soviet intelligence reports and stories of Germans who defected to the Russian side. Industry was not mobilized; the army was short of weapons. The army purges had weakened the leadership and rank-and-file morale. When he finally accepted the fact that the Germans had attacked, Stalin said in despair: "All that Lenin created we have lost forever."

For a long time he "ceased to do anything whatever." Then his "nervousness and hysteria" greatly interfered with military effectiveness. He used not a map but a globe to plan military operations and was responsible for military disasters by countermanding generals in the field.

THE FATTED GEESE: He bungled in agricultural policy as he did in military affairs. "He knew the country and agriculture only from films. And these films had dressed up and beautified the existing situation in agriculture. Many films so pictured collective farm life that the tables were bending from the weight of turkeys and geese. Evidently Stalin thought it was actually so." He last visited a country village in 1928. In 1952 he proposed raising the agricultural taxes by 40 billion rubles when the total income for all collective produce purchased by the government was only 26 billion rubles.

Though the Soviet Union prides itself as a multi-national state [Stalin wrote extensively on the rights of nationalities], during the war Stalin uprooted whole nations, exposing "women, children, old people, Communists and Komsomols" [young Communists] to misery for "the hostile acts of individual persons or groups of persons." At the end of 1943, after the war had turned in favor of the Soviet Union, the entire Karachai population and people of the Kalmyk Republic were deported. In 1944 the Chechem, Ingush and Balkars were all uprooted and sent to "distant places." The Ukrainians were spared "only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise he would have deported them also."

YUGOSLAV EXAMPLE: In 1951-52 Stalin charged that a "nationalist" movement was under way in his native Georgia and a number of Georgian Communists were arrested. "We know that there have been . . . manifestations of local burgeois nationalism in Georgia as in several other republics . . . Could it be possible that . . . there was a danger of Georgia's leaving the Soviet Union and joining Turkey? This is of course nonsense." There was, in fact, no nationalist organization in Georgia. "Thousands of persons fell victim of willfulness and lawlessness. All of this happened under the 'genial' leadership of Stalin, 'the great son of the Georgian nation,' as Georgians liked to refer to Stalin."

Stalin's "willfulness" and "mania for greatness" affected foreign policy. For example: Yugoslavia. It was "completely possible to have prevented the rupture of relations . . . This does not mean, however, that the Yugoslav leaders did not make mistakes or did not have shortcomings." But Stalin magnified them "in a monstrous manner." He said: "I will shake my little finger and there will be no more Tito. He will fall." But "no matter how much or how little Stalin shook not only his little finger but everything else that he could shake, Tito did not fall." Tito was supported by his people who had gone through a "severe school of fighting for liberty and independence, a people which gave support to its leaders."

Peaceful relations of the Soviet Union with other nations "were often threatened because one-man decisions could cause, and often did cause, great complications."

WHY DID THEY GAIN? How account for the progress in 30 years of Stalin? "These victories are the result of the great drive and activity of the nation and of the party as a whole; they are not at all the fruit of the leadership of Stalin."

Where were the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee during Stalin's rule? In the beginning many of them backed Stalin because he was "one of the strongest Marxists." Later fear grew. Bulganin once said: "It has happened sometimes that a man goes to Stalin on his invitation as a friend. And when he sits with Stalin, he does not know where he will be sent next, home or to jail."

The importance of the Political Bureau was reduced. Meetings were irregular and infrequent. On occasion Stalin forbade one member to attend. Decisions were taken "either by one person or in a roundabout way, without collective decisions."

How account for the "confessions" of defendants at purge trials? "Only in one way—because of application of physical methods of pressuring him, tortures, bringing him to a state of unconsciousness, deprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity." On Jan. 20, 1939, Stalin sent a coded telegram to authorities ordering "physical pressure" on "known and obstinate enemies," called the method "justifiable and appropriate."

Judges were "falsifiers." One said he was told that two accused persons before him "were people's enemies and for this reason I, as an investigative judge, had to make them confess that they are enemies . . . I thought that I was executing the orders of the Party."

TORTURED TO CONFESS: Many retracted their confessions, pleaded for justice from prison. On Oct 1, 1939, Robert I. Eihke, a party member since 1905, wrote to Stalin from prison:

"I am now alluding to the most disgraceful part of my life and to my really grave guilt against the party and against you. This is my confession of counter-revolutionary activity . . . The case is as follows: not being able to suffer the tortures to which I was submitted by Ushakov and Nikolayev [investigative judges] —and especially by the first one—who utilized the knowledge that my broken ribs have not properly mended and have caused me great pain—I have been forced to accuse myself and others."

In court on Feb. 2, 1940, Eihke said: "I have made my confession under pressure from the investigative judge who from the time of my arrest tormented me. After that I began to write all this nonsense. The most important thing for me is to tell the court, the party and Stalin that I am not guilty. I have never been guilty of any conspiracy. I will die believing the truth of party policy as I have believed in it during my whole life."

On Feb. 4, 1940, Eihke was shot. He has been "posthumously rehabilitated."

NO JUSTIFICATION: Was the terror in 1937 justified by the opposition of Trotzkyites? No. By 1927 the Trotskyite strength had been reduced to 4,000 votes in the party as opposed to 724,000 for the official position. Lenin had opposed terror even in wartime. As soon as decisive military victory was won in 1920, Lenin called for abolishing the death penalty, favored ideological struggles with dissidents, said that "the application of violence flows out of the decision to smother the exploiters, the big landowners and the capitalists; as soon as this was accomplished, we gave up the use of all extraordinary methods." When there were no "serious reasons" for terror, Stalin launched it "not at the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes, but against the honest workers of the party."

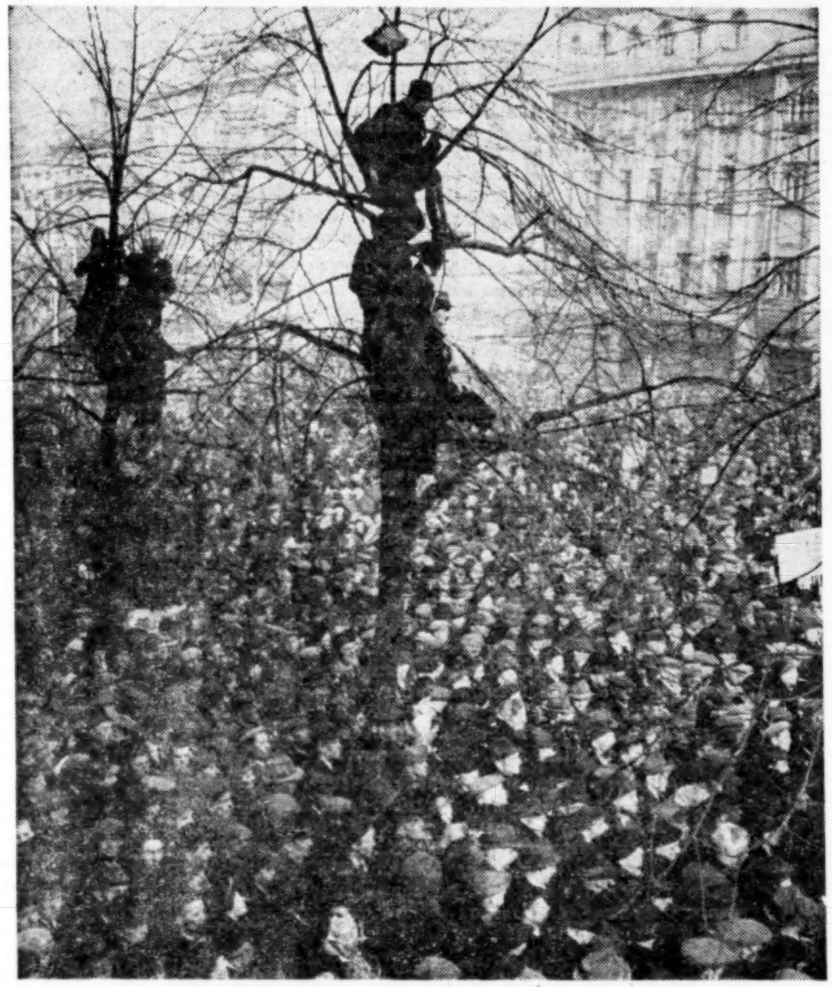
This report should not "get out of the party, especially not to the press . . . we should not give ammunition to the enemy; we should not wash our dirty linen before their eyes." The party should eradicate the "cult of the individual," restore "collective leadership" and "the Leninist principles of Soviet Socialist democracy."

"THE WHOLE TRAGEDY": How evaluate Stalin? He undoubtedly "performed great services to the party, the working class and the international workers' movement." Of the terror of his rule:

"We cannot say that these were the deeds of a giddy despot. He considered that this should be done in the interest of the party; of the working masses, in the name of the defense of the revolution's gains. In this lies the whole tragedy!"

TABITHA PETRAN'S LAST DISPATCH BEFORE RUSSIA

No more tyrants, the Czech people say



THIS WAS PRAGUE'S VACLAVSKE NAMESTI ON FEB. 25, 1948
At the time the Communists took over the government

By Tabitha Petran

PRAGUE

"WE NEVER REALIZED how much the people loved Stalin," a Czech journalist said of the reaction here to the Khrushchev report. "They didn't think of him as bloody dictator. It was too painful." Another writer said: "The war story was especially a shock since Stalin to us was the symbol of liberation. Yet the shock passed rather quickly because the revelations about Stalin became unimportant beside the hope of getting rid of our big and little dictators tyrannizing over people's lives."

This correspondent's conversations with workers, farmers, professional people, government officials during two weeks in Czechoslovakia tended to confirm this picture. Some shied away from discussing Stalin as if the question were too painful or in bad taste—like asking about a close relative who had committed a crime. Others expressed flat disbelief. Still others, including some Communists, heaped all possible sins on Stalin. They accused him of major responsibility for the cold war. Their argument: Stalin died, then the international situation improved. Q.E.D.

THE SLANSKY TRIAL: Questioning of Soviet leaders for not correcting the situation in Stalin's lifetime or for not now taking a share of responsibility then was frequent. So was criticism of the Czech party for not informing people about what was going on, and especially for not providing now more information about the Slansky trial. People are bewildered about this trial and are anxious for the Party Conference this month to supply more concrete explanations.

Questioning of the Soviet party leadership over the Stalin issue is muted by the confidence this leadership has won through successfully relaxing international tension. The decision to reduce Soviet armed forces is taken to mean that prospects for peace are better than had been hoped. Similarly, questioning of the Czech party leadership is limited by steadily improving living conditions, which has given people much confidence in the present regime.

THE KIDS LOOK FINE: A visitor from the West is struck by the relatively high standard of living here. Everyone, in cities and villages, seems to have a new pair of shoes; with an average of 4.85 pairs per person per year, the Czechs can claim to be the best shod people in the world. Consumer goods, especially household electrical appliances, jam store windows. Prices are still high, but the stores are crowded. Camera fiends snap pictures on Vaclavske Namesti as on New York's Broadway.

Robust, well-clad children in workers' housing developments demonstrate graphically the better life they are building. At Ostrava, where coal is mined right under the city, a suburban development now houses 27,000 and will accommodate 70,000 by the end of 1957. These houses have central heating and gas, electric washing machines and—unlike those in New York—soundproof walls. A similar workers' housing development at Gottwaldov is set among rolling green hills with specially planned and built areas for the creches and nurseries for children of working mothers.

PLENTY OF CRITICISM: Medical service is free for all children up to one year; thereafter, for all citizens covered by national insurance—roughly nine-tenths of the population. All births henceforth will be free.

Already young people seem to take these and other advantages (recreational, cultural and educational opportunities) for granted. The apparently universal desire is for a car, which many consider the true measure of a high living standard.

Criticism there is—as there always has been, from the ground up. It is directed against bureaucracy and dogmatism, and it has gained strength since the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP. Workers in factories discuss their demands for more investment in social services; office workers, the endless red tape seemingly involved in every operation; co-op farmers, the innumerable questionnaires sent out by the Agriculture Ministry; journalists, how to make newspapers more readable and pertinent.

All this discussion has produced few tangible changes, but it does reveal how deeply rooted the idea of socialism has become in the people. For criticism is directed not against socialism but rather toward making it work better.

THE NEWSPAPERS: The reverse side of the cult of personality, one writer explained, is mistrust of the people, which has developed into bureaucracy and dogmatism stifling development. That development—and the corrective process just begun—appear to be somewhat more complicated than the West in general has understood.

For example, the question of the press. The only queues in Prague are those that line up for **Evening Prague**, the only afternoon paper launched by some journalists. It reports accidents and other human interest stories. Writers for other papers are aware that their papers have failed—and not only by their dullness—to perform the function of a socialist press.

A group of journalists explained: "At first we decided to be different from the capitalist press. We still think our conception of the press is better than yours. But we went too far. We became teachers and officials rather than journalists. We waited for government handouts and the official line instead of searching for news of why or how different plans were working out."

All emphasized: "Nobody imposed this approach on us. We can't say it wasn't our fault. We weren't living under a dictatorship. We could have done many things and we could have done things differently. But it was so much easier to go by formula."

THEY BEGAN TO LISTEN: Journalists became aware two or more years ago that people weren't reading the papers and held them in contempt. Workers interviewed by correspondents would jeer: "Why should I tell you anything? You'll just fix it up to make a pretty picture." Conferences with readers revealed they found the papers full of preaching, dogmatic and remote from life. (This attitude still exists. Workers told this correspondent: "Writers, especially newspaper men, never had it so good. But they haven't done much about keeping us informed.")

Said the journalists: "We listened but we did nothing. We thought of ourselves as an army battling for socialism, a battle in which orders had to be given and accepted. On top of this, we thought the people were fools. Afterwards, we found it was we who must change, not the people. Gradually we began to listen. We became disgusted with our own work. You might say the change was forced upon us by the people. But we still have a long way to go."

Though still far from being the conscience of the people, the newspapers are now striving to be more independent and critical, and some are acquiring correspondents abroad.

THE FROZEN SWAN: Creative writers are also re-evaluating their contribution, discussing the obstacles to the development of great literature. Out of the war and the liberation came some great works of literature in 1945-46, for example, Hrubin's poems **Job's Knight** and Jan Drda's stories of the resistance, **The Silent Barricade.** Strongly criticized for the "pessimism" of a later book, **Hiroshima,** Hrubin switched to children's verses for five years. Drda became a schematic writer whose works are described as illustrations of an oversimplified political thesis rather than a true picture of life.

The recent Congress of the Writers Union discussed the problems of dogmatism which had silenced talented and sensitive writers. Hrubin's speech, comparing Czech poetry to Mallarme's swan dying in a circle of ice, received a great ovation. But perhaps the ovation was less for this simile than for his statement of the poet's role in a socialist society.

A BIGGER VOICE: Efforts are now being made to decentralize planning and the administration of heavy and light industry. Planning henceforth will give more voice and responsibility to regional and local authorities. Industry managers will have a say over a certain proportion of the total investment each year and make other decisions of their own. Unions are demanding more rights for themselves in relation to their central administration. Farmers are ignoring the Agriculture Ministry's questionnaires "because they are nonsense."

The process of changing or modifying a system of administration or government is just beginning here. None are sure where it will lead; but all agree where it will not lead: no one expects any basic change in what Marxists call the "dictatorship of the proletariat" or in the socialist goal.

The curious mixture of the old ways of thinking with the new is typical of this country which has been trying to build a socialist society for only eight years. And for all the discussion of the meaning of the 20th Congress, it may have been best summed up by those who, when asked what it meant to them, replied simply: "The 7-hour day."

A letter from Helen Sobell

Dear Editors and Staff:

For many of us the month of June is a time of remembering. We remember not only the horror of the deaths of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, but we remember the truth and the beauty of their innocence and their courage. We remember the warm humanity of the millions who protested their death, and the sharp clean anger of those who fought for their lives. The GUARDIAN was the first to break through the circle of fire that was drawn around the Rosenbergs and my husband, Morton Sobell. In this time of remembering I want to tell you of the GUARDIAN of my gratitude, my admiration, and my thankfulness to you. Undaunted by your own problems of survival, and in today's world they are many, you have not hesitated to help by bringing each new disclosure of fact and of support to your readers.

We go into the hardest part of our fight now. We have moved into the offensive with a legal motion so strong and so true that it has already won major concessions from the prosecutor, and neither Roy Cohn nor Irving Saypol have stepped forth to contradict it. The question of International Law that has been raised is of concern to every country of the world. It is the hardest part of the fight because it is the beginning of victory. In their recording of our victory and the return of Morton to his home and family, not only as a free, but as an honored man, the GUARDIAN will, I know, be our champion and our friend.

Faithfully yours,
HELEN SOBELL

A GUARDIAN EXCLUSIVE FROM ENGLAND

An interview with Bertrand Russell

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

FROM HIS QUIET GARDEN villa in the London suburb of Richmond, Bertrand Russell looks back on a life which has never been dull, and still, in his 84th year, does not threaten to become so. Among the ruddy-faced, snowy-haired philosopher's souvenirs are going to jail for his peace activities in World War I, scandalizing the respectable with his free-wheeling coeducational school between wars, and succeeding to an earldom in 1931. He has traveled everywhere in search of truth, interested himself in everything, said just what he thought to everyone, publicly confessed his error whenever he found anything he said or didn't say to have been wrong. The world has come to recognize him as one who has generally been right.

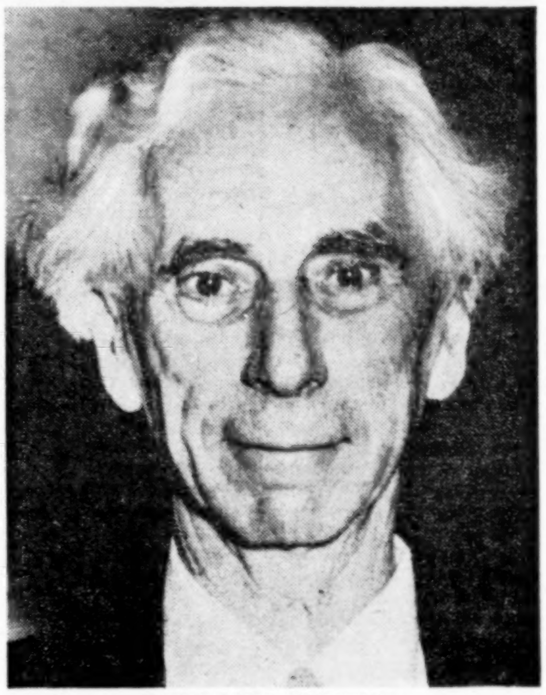
Last March he started another tumult by expressing in the **Manchester Guardian** shame at not having looked into the Rosenberg case "at the time"; "almost certainty" that the Rosenbergs were innocent; and a plea—with pungent references to the background of FBI "atrocities"—for a new trial of the Rosenbergs' alleged fellow-conspirator Morton Sobell who is in Alcatraz for 30 years. The indignant ensuing correspondence defending the Dept. of Justice and the FBI, topped off by a final and even deadlier volley from Russell, has now died down.

A 17th CENTURY LIBERAL: Last week I called on him to convey something of what his action has meant to progressive Americans. On the table beside the hospitable tea-tray in his study—which had an electric fire burning and the window wide open to the early summer scents from the garden—were copies of Max Lowenthal's book on the FBI ("I'm just reading it"), William A. Reuben's **Atom Spy Hoax** ("I'm just going to read it") and John Wexley's **Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** which convinced him and inspired his letter. It was in this room last winter that he received Mrs. Rose Sobell, who persuaded him to read the facts and judge from them whether justice had been done to her son.

"I am going into all this," Russell said, lighting his pipe, "because I am an old-fashioned liberal—you might say in the 17th century sense, in that I have always had a great fear of the police and feel they are the same danger now that kings were then. Lowenthal's book is very instructive. I have been reading about the rounding-up in New York streets in 1918 of men who were supposed to be draft-evaders—almost none of them were, but there seems to have been hardly a bleat of protest.

DREADFUL LAPSES: "I recall the time when I was at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1939 and they quite suddenly found that one of the lecturers, a man of experience and standing who had defended migratory workers' right to organize, was incompetent. The others didn't protest, and I have never seen anything to equal the terror in the common room when Sproul, the head of the university, marched in to lecture the staff. The university was completely controlled by the banker Giannini—everyone did what this Italian fascist told them to. Then in 1940 when I was barred from an appointment at New York City College—on the ground that I was 'aphrodisiac' among other dreadful lapses, though obviously they didn't know what that meant—not one New Dealer except Mrs. Roosevelt supported me. I can't agree with you that in America there has ever been the same degree of personal liberty that we have here. It doesn't exist for the average man. At all times I have been rather astonished by their lack of protest against injustice.

"Now the way the FBI is behaving is quite extraordinary. Apparently they can find people to testify to absolutely anything. Yet when I meet Americans, if I say anything at all against the FBI it's as if I'd talked against the Holy Ghost. How can you? This is holy! I am astounded by the letters I have been getting from Americans, abusing me and exalting the police, most of all the one from the Committee for Cultural Freedom of which I am a member. Is it for cultural freedom or isn't it? What has happened to my old friend Sidney Hook? On the other hand I've had many letters from Americans who say: 'I'm delighted you say these things, I wish I dared.'"



BERTRAND RUSSELL
A lack of protest astonishes him

A CHILLED ALLIANCE: I asked Russell what he thought about the unilateral release of political prisoners and cutting of armed forces by the Russians and their allied countries. He said it was "very embarrassing to the Americans who don't want to do either." I asked: "Do you think the time may be at hand when the world will see America as the country with the only remaining iron curtain?"

"Indeed it's very likely," he said. "You know, all of Western Europe is very much chilled, in the whole conception of alliance with America, by the fact that there has seemed to be less and less difference between America and Russia. We must stand in with America but we don't like it. I am very anxious for good relations, but all these injustices make it harder."

"How can relations with America be improved?"

"Well, we can't do it until there is greater liberalism in the American administration—that's the only thing that will do it. And so there has to be more frankness about what is going on there. Of course every government commits misdeeds and feels it must conceal them. We certainly should not be self-righteous in view of our own failures in Cyprus and so on. Governments often manage to keep their misdeeds fairly dark at home but abroad they can't. So if they can't keep them dark the only thing is to mend their ways.

BASES OUT OF DATE: "The same is true for us British who commit our sins a long way off, although we're not so bad at home. Of course we shall end by being turned out of Cyprus—what we're doing there is absolutely futile. The whole idea that it's important to have bases is out of date. They are only of use if there's to be a big war, but even then, if we want a big war to destroy practically everybody, we can do it all from Greenland which is not far from Moscow. But people agree there isn't going to be a big war: the chances are at least four to one against it, although the risk is still there."

What did he think about the events in the U.S.S.R. since Stalin's death?

"I am convinced the Communists really do want to liberalize their regimes. Would I be mistaken in attributing this to the fact that they have really got good hydrogen bombs and so are no longer frightened? But it is quite genuine. They have let out thousands of political prisoners although for years they have been saying there weren't any. What has particularly impressed me is Hungary tearing down the barbed wire along the frontier—because it is an actual physical act. Also I am glad that the genes are now able to behave as they like, not just as Stalin told them.

"I have always said that Stalin was the successor of Ivan the Terrible. I think his influence was completely bad. I was in Russia only once, in 1920, and wrote a little book about it. I thought it was horrible—an absolute nightmare—and have had the same view since, although it is getting better now: not what I should like at all, but better. But in any case we've got to co-operate with them whether we like it or not."

AN APOLOGY TO MAKE: I asked him if his views of Western policy toward Russia hadn't changed in recent years. This was his answer:

"The worst thing I ever said—and I am sorry I did—was soon after the last war at the time America produced the Baruch plan for atomic control. I said we must urge the Russians to come in and that, if they wouldn't, we should threaten them; and I thought they would yield. I wanted to see atomic power internationalized and thought the Baruch plan a good one.

"I think I said that, and I'm sorry. The moment Russia had atomic power the situation was changed. I thought it was quite possible to persuade Russia to come into the Baruch plan. It wasn't that I wanted a war, or to reform the Russian regime—they have the right to whatever regime they like—but to preserve the peace of the world.

"Within the next five to ten years," said the philosopher with the unclosable mind and the habit of courage, "it is possible that hostility will grow enormously less. It is less already. It rests largely with America." I left him with his books on the American political police and the fruits of their work, promising to lend him my copy of that great contemporary classic, Harvey Matusow's **False Witness.**

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ABOLITION BILL NEAR PASSAGE

Death penalty is dying in Britain

(Special to the GUARDIAN)

LONDON

FINAL DEATH to the Death Penalty in Britain seemed imminent last month when Sydney Silverman's abolition bill came through the committee stage in Commons with a 42 majority. The Tory-led opposition had fixed on it only one amendment providing retention of the penalty for murders committed by people serving life sentences; an amendment to retain it for murders involving rape was roundly defeated. Silverman, who has fought for abolition throughout his parliamentary life and led the demand in Britain for mercy for the Rosenbergs, will continue the fight to remove the one amending clause attached to the bill.

Attempts by jingo newspapers to show that public opinion opposed abolition had failed; the contrary had been indicated when demonstrators for abolition packed London's huge Festival Hall May 24. It was the largest public meeting in years on any issue before Parliament. With regard to the amendment attached to the bill, it was pointed out at the meeting that there had never been a case of murder by a person serving a life sentence.

MURDER DECLINES: In addition to Silverman and publisher Victor Gollancz, who has organized the Natl. Campaign for Abolition of Capital Punishment, the meeting was addressed by a Belgian Ministry of Justice official, a Swedish prison governor and the Atty. General of Norway—three countries where the Death Penalty has been abolished and the crime of murder has continued to decline.

The Norwegian said that in his country there had been 125 convictions for murder in the last 25 years; the longest jail term served was 15 years, and of those released not one had committed another violent crime and only five had committed any other crime. In Norway, he said, the question of capital punishment "does not exist."

The Swedish speaker said that when his country abolished the Death Penalty in 1921, the arguments used against abolition were exactly the same as those now used by the opposition in Britain.

There'll Always Be An England Dept.

"Dear Sir: It is axiomatic that the Steward of every Historic House aims to secure in his purchasing of basic supplies optimum value, that is to say maximum performance in relation to price. To waive the exercise of discretion can, under no imaginable circumstances, be advantageous. . . . We enclose sample feelers for your examination."

—Circular sent out to public establishments in Britain.

The product: a brand of toilet paper with a coronet printed on the corner of each sheet.

FROM CEDRIC BELFRAGE'S NEW BOOK

My Sister, My Brother

The excerpts which follow are from Chapter 19 of Cedric Belfrage's forthcoming new book, The Case of the Frightened Giant. *The book will be published in London and here in November. During his stay in West St. jail prior to his deportation last August 15, Belfrage occupied the cell which had been Julius Rosenberg's while he was awaiting transfer to the Sing Sing deathhouse in 1951. Here Belfrage tells of this, and of his impressions of the couple in whose behalf the GUARDIAN initiated the worldwide campaign for clemency and justice.*

JUNE 19, especially as I passed through the receiving room and looked at the two men in my old cell—his old cell, where he thought constantly of her—was a day of much reflection on the intertwinings of human destiny.

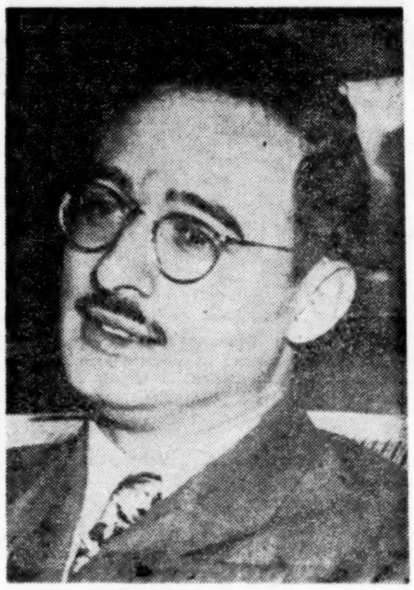
It was the day on which Ethel and Julius were put to death, just two years before. I never knew them, and I loved them, but not enough. I do not know how much I have of consolation in the fact that the GUARDIAN took up the fight for justice and mercy for them, when all America retreated in abject terror from its conscience as from a red-hot stove. But I think it was above all because we moved for Ethel and Julius after they were convicted of "atom-spying" that the priesthood of the anti-communist mystery moved against me, imprisoning me the first time up to only a few days before they were killed. What consolation there is, I take from that. . . .

Ethel and Julius—and their defender Manny Bloch—were of the human fibre that makes the word "Jew" a beautiful one, as the name "mountain of roses" is beautiful. This we learned gradually, for when Manny came as a stranger to ask our poor little sheet to raise the cry for justice since no one else would even listen to him, Ethel and Julius were already in the death-house; none of us had ever set eyes upon them, and none of us ever would. We came to know them through Manny, who always dropped by to tell about his weekly Sing Sing visits; and through their prison letters, which Manny first brought to my desk as they wrote them on the now-familiar prison stationery, and which later became a book cherished by good folk in many lands . . .

I THOUGHT of what the Catholic schoolteacher Jacques Madaule wrote in France—long after the GUARDIAN had asked: "Is this the Dreyfus Case of cold-war America?" and after the French people, recognising that it was, had risen in vain protest:

"One can say without fear of error that if Ethel and Julius had not been Jews they would not have been convicted —and perhaps not even tried."

CAPTAIN DREYFUS
Zola wrote "J'Accuse!"



ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG
They had faith in the people until the end

I thought of July 4 in the year 1951: of Julius in his cell, after eating the special Independence Day portion of ice cream, re-reading the Declaration of Independence in the **Times** which always devotes a page to a facsimile of it on that day. . . .

He takes his pen from the locker and scribbles a note to Ethel in her cell a hundred yards away: "It is interesting to read these words in this setting. . . ." Then, beneath the signatures of the 56 congressional delegates of 1776, he writes: "Julius Rosenberg." He tears out the page and fastens it up on the cell wall. . . .

When I thought of them as lovers, I thought of Ethel's letter sent from her cell to his: "I arise each morning with the thought of you warm and unspeakably sweet within me and each night give myself into your keeping once more; and all day my heart sings its refrain, 'I am loved, I am loved. . . . ' "

When I thought of them as parents, I saw the haunted faces of the "apples of the eyes" of Ethel and Julius, Michael and Robbie, arriving at the Christmas party given them by the GUARDIAN staff in 1951. Michael at seven, already old far beyond his years; Robbie, at four, a little boy lost, frightened to go near other children, only looking about him for his mother, running to bury himself for fleeting consolation in the lap of Jo or any woman who looked kind and acted tenderly. And I lived again through the ghastly pilgrimages which I made with the boys in Manny Bloch's car to Sing Sing, stopping to buy them hot dogs along the highway, waiting outside the jail while they spent their hour with the doomed ones and Ethel sang them songs that recalled bedtimes when they were a family. I saw the boys emerging, each holding one of Manny's hands, to be surrounded by photographers and reporters coaxing or threatening them for a "story" until Robbie would cry and Michael would stick out his tongue. I saw them again in their first foster-home in New Jersey; wept for them again as the radio, on that bloody night in June of 1953, interrupted its jazz and pepsi-cola advertising to tell us and them that "three jolts" had killed their father and a "puff of smoke" came from the leather mask over their mother's face before she died. The picture changed to the children scampering in wild happiness from room to room of Blanch's and Gloria's law office in February of 1954, where dozens of us celebrated the defeat of the government's efforts to seize the orphans so that the memory of their parents might be expunged or, if possible, made hateful.

And pictures of what I did not see but had to imagine: Ethel and Julius with the children in the prison, "playing with them," as Manny described it, "as if in their own living room"; Julius holding Robbie on his knee telling a story about the boat they saw through the barred window, coming up the Hudson in a cloud of seagulls; Ethel giving them the only present she had, a collection of insects caught in the exercise yard; both of them dry-eyed, holding back their sobs until they were alone again in their cells. To Manny after one of these visits Ethel wrote: "Make no mistake about it: this mother's heart is being methodically and mercilessly broken and the pain is simply not to be imagined . . . I am one vast vessel of pain—it feels as though every last inch of me beats with hurt. . . ."

OF JULIUS as a human being—for I thought especially of him, sharing a tiny fragment of his experience there where began his journey to the cross—I recalled especially from the letters his excited description of the orange tree. One of the men in the death-house had planted an orange pip in a crack in the concrete of the exercise yard. Waiting for death, Julius and all the others found delight in watering and tending it as it grew inch by inch, finally producing faintly scented flowers and even small oranges. When I mentioned this in a conversation with Mr. Smith, a decent and popular West St. hack [guard] approaching retirement age who had many recollections of Julius, he commented dryly: "That sounds just like him."

Mr. Smith felt more deeply about Julius than it would have been prudent for him to express. He recalled that Julius was always good-natured, considerate and painstaking in whatever he did in West St., and marvellously cheerful considering the nature of his sentence because he was always convinced that justice would prevail. As his letters show, he did not abandon his faith in American justice until nearly the end—and his faith in the people, never. One of the jobs he did in West St. was panelling the walls of the visiting room where I talked with Jo through the glass every Saturday.

When I thought of Ethel and Julius as "communists"—the label that had to be pinned to them, although nothing as to their affiliation was ever established at the trial—one reflection was automatic: that if indeed they were members of it, then the American Communist Party was thereby ennobled. If they were, they took their place with many communist men and women to whom humanity was in debt, who in my time had shown the greatest love, that they laid down their lives for their friends. But all that was important to me was that they were my sister and my brother in my own progressive family which was broader than parties.

It was as "communists" that they were sentenced by the court and by the press, to strike fear into all who were disposed to protest the abuses and usurpations of despots masquerading as democrats; and in the hope that under this ultimate terror they would weaken, recant and betray. And this it was that stood out plain for us all on the GUARDIAN, in that summer of '51 when even we, not yet fully comprehending how far the new despots would go in the cold war on their own people, had been half convinced by press and government smoke that there must be some fire in the case. When we read the trial record which had been so wildly distorted, we knew that at best guilt had not been proven, at worst—and most probably—the whole case was a trumped-up hoax.

SO THE LONG FIGHT began: a good fight against odds that were overpowering, in which a multitude all over America joined, but only the poor and obscure, for the terror frightened into silence virtually all of America's respectable, its high and mighty, its saints, its intellectuals. From thousands of nobodies, after we had set the record reasonably straight, flowed dollar bills in response to an appeal for a Rosenberg defense committee; so that at a time when our struggling enterprise was threatened with extinction for lack of money to pay printing bills, in a corner of the office a table was piled a foot high with money to save Ethel and Julius. Denounced everywhere as a communist plot, the campaign for justice developed steadily yet with sickening slowness as Manny saw appeal after appeal fail in the courts and the executioner's hand nearing the switch. . . .

Then the last frightful days of hopes raised a little and smashed, of the Supreme Court refusing to the end to review the case, of anti-semites yelling obscenities at the pickets keeping vigil around the White House; of demonstrations all over the world, of pleas for mercy even from the Pope of Rome which were bottled up by the witch-hunters already dining on Ethel's and Julius's blood. And the evening itself, on which my GUARDIAN colleagues and I sat around the radio in the office, trying to project our thoughts across the void to the room up the Hudson with the chair in it. . . .

THE SPIRITS of Ethel and Julius filled West St. for me, and her verses spoke with the same marvellous freshness as when she sent them long ago to the GUARDIAN from the death-house.

Their song was interrupted, but their Gethsemane and crucifixion had put into millions of hearts a new certainty that it would be sung to the triumphant end.

Ethel and Julius had put a new fear into the hearts of the despots, a healthy fear of the incorruptibility that may reside in ordinary men and women. The silence on the wire connecting the Justice Department with the Sing Sing death-house had spoken eloquently. It said that the plan to turn America into a nation of stoolpigeons had failed.

HELEN AND MORTON SOBELL
The fight goes on

Drawing by Low, as reprinted in Afro-American, Baltimore
ALABAMA, U. S. A.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE STORY

There are white heroes in today's South too

By a special correspondent

GREENSBORO, N. C.

WHEN STORIES involving Southern white persons and desegregation appear in the nation's press, they deal almost exclusively with violent opposition to ending jimcrow. They get the headlines but that is not the whole story:

Hundreds of decent white people in the South have taken public stands to end the American apartheid even if it has meant their jobs and social excommunication—and even their lives. Here are a few dramatic examples which disprove the false "solidarity" of the South. They are samples of incidents which have been crying for notice.

THE GUILFORD STORY: In Guilford County, N. C., last year 34 white parents wrote to county school authorities asking them to admit Negro students if they make application to attend white classes. White Citizens Councilmen (in North Carolina they are called "Patriots") raised a howl. One signer of the letter, George McBride, a worker in a broom factory, was immediately fired. Another, John Coltrane, a gas station attendant, was forced to "resign" after his boss received complaining phone calls. A third, C. M. Mackie, who has a small furniture store in the community, was threatened with a boycott.

When the school term began swarms of "Patriot" cars encircled the county school to protect it against non-Anglo-Saxon "invaders." The letter signers feared that as they brought their children to school they would be targets for violence. The county seat daily paper, The Greensboro **Daily News** (Sept. 8, 1955) said editorially: "People must have the right to express their opinions without fear if North Carolina and the U. S. are to be free."

David Neave, another signer, attempted to enroll his children in a nearby Negro school because they were forced to walk more than a mile for a school bus and then travel several miles to a white school. But state law denies white children the right to enter Negro schools—just as it bars Negro students from attending white schools.

A COURAGEOUS LAWYER: James D. Gilliland is solicitor general for Warren County, N. C., a county with a large Negro population. Attorney Gilliland learned in March that a dozen North Carolinians had been called as witnesses to a House Un-American Activities Committee hearing and that they could get no lawyer to serve as their counsel. He volunteered and in the Charlotte, N. C., Federal Court House, rose at his clients' table and told Committee chairman Walter that if he really meant to investigate un-Americans he should start by looking into the activities of those trying to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation in public schools.

When Gilliland returned home to Warrenton he was expelled from the Lion's Club and the Country Club. Unsuccessful attempts were made to get him disbarred and fired as solicitor general. Rep. Walter said the efforts were fully justified. He even acknowledged that he had had the witness table wired and the attorney-client confidential conversations recorded and "blown up." However, sane North Carolinians, many newspapers, and North Carolina bar associations came to Gilliland's defense and nothing further happened.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS: Catholics in the South have desegregated some of their schools and churches. In North Carolina they did this despite anger and threats of violence to priests and bishops. In New Orleans recent accounts tell of an 8-foot cross that was burned at the residence of Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel.

Jewish Southerners likewise are taking their stand on the side of abiding by the law. At a district convention of the Southeastern states of the Jewish men's lodge, B'nai B'rith, a resolution was passed indorsing the Supreme Court ruling.

Many white Protestants have similarly taken a stand. When the "Patriots" told the Rev. W. W. Hutchins, pastor of the Sanford Baptist Church, to stop preaching about the brotherhood of man, he refused. He said: "I respect and defend the right of the Christian minister to speak as God gives him utterance and his conscience dictates. . . ." He said this knowing full well that some of his own church members were also members of the "Patriots."

AND MANY MORE: There are many more brave examples to tell: of the faculty of Woman's College in Greensboro, N. C., which passed a resolution favoring the admission of students of "any race;" of white and Negro college students of the Piedmont area coming together and declaring that desegregation is Christian and democratic; of the Rev. Charles Jones (white) telling a meeting of these students that the NAACP is one of the most American of organizations. Another scheduled speaker, Dr. George S. Mitchell of Atlanta, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, was attacked by the "Patriots" because the Un-American Committee had listed him as subversive. The students took no action to cancel his speech.

Colonial hand

(Continued from Page 1)

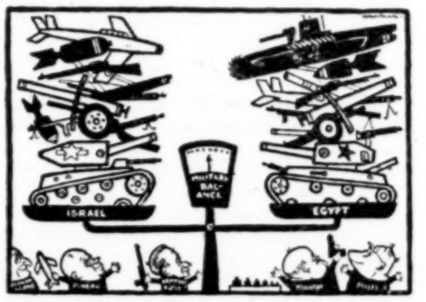
public sentiment by conceding that Moscow's challenge was economic rather than military.

THAT OLD BURDEN: However, fighting continued in Algeria and Kenya; the Middle Eastern situation remained unsettled; and Britain obdurately hung onto Cyprus, Aden and Singapore as lifelines of Empire.

In France reservists were actively resisting call-up for duty in Algeria and former Air Minister Pierre Cot warned Paris not to refuse the Algerian arbitration offer by Indian Premier Nehru. But Mollet tartly rejected Nehru's offer and predicted French military victory in "a few months." By tying the Algerian issue to his government's over-all policy, Mollet manged to win a vote of confidence in the National Assembly by a narrow margin; over 200 deputies abstained.

British policy in Asia and Africa continued to be dominated by the desire to maintain control over the resources and strategic locations of an empire that still included "46 colonies with 84 million people [and occupied] an area 20 times the size of Great Britain" (**Newsweek**, 6/4). **Newsweek** said: "The colonies are the sterling area's greatest dollar earners—notably from sales of rubber, tin, West African oil seeds, cocoa, and strategic minerals."

ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT: Eden has frankly admitted that his government's Middle East policy is guided by the profitable flow of oil. At the recent UN Security Council discussion on UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold's future role in the Middle East crisis, Britain played for Arab support to protect its oil investments. It rejected a Soviet offer of joint sponsorship of a four-power resolution, offered instead its own mild resolution. Even this resolution was narrowed by Arab pressure, and by Soviet support of a move to confine Hammarskjold's mission to "full



De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

compliance" with the 1949 armistic agreements. The final resolution was passed unanimously.

Hammarskjold himself felt that his office empowers him to attempt to settle some of the problems involved in the Israel-Arab conflict. He was reported to be hopeful of solving the crucial problems of the Egyptian blockade of Israeli ships passing through the Suez Canal and the plight of the Arab refugees.

CONDITIONS IN KENYA: The nature of British repression in Kenya was revealed in the parliamentary debate early this month. It was reported that nearly a million African men, women and children were assigned last month to live permanently in government-created villages. No one would be permitted to move from one village to another without the district commissioner's permission; violators would be fined $150 or sentenced to six month's imprisonment.

Already aroused by the wanton slaughter of Kenya Africans, as reported in the press, Labour MP's were angered by (1) a letter to the London **Times**, June 1, from the Friends Service Council's (Quakers) Kenya Committee chairman Eric D. Cleaver charging grave governmental injustices and oppression; and (2) charges of inhuman treatment of 12- and 13-year-old girls, made by Eileen Fletcher, former rehabilitation officer in the detention camps in Kenya.

The London **Peace News** said (5/18): "We seriously suggest that what is needed is a rehabilitation program for the [Kenya] whites."

Meanwhile, since the banning of the Kenya African Union, the newly formed Kenya African Congress, led by Argwings-Kodhek, was reported to be gaining popular support (London **New Statesman**, (5/19).

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOR: The Strijdom

Blitz, Bombay

government of the Union of South Africa —a British Commonwealth member—continued to pursue its policy of apartheid, but with an eye to protecting the economic benefits of cheap African labor. Many industrial concerns, including such American companies as General Motors and Firestone, have been employing Africans in large numbers because they "are doing jobs formerly held by whites but they receive only half to two-thirds or less of white's pay" (**NYT**, 5/13). The Minister of Native Affairs has suggested that "white-owned industries be established on the borders of the Negro reserves to make use of Negro labor" (**NYT**, 5/20).

Strijdom has also been pushing his demands to annex the British colonies of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. One reason: the recent discovery of large deposits of high-grade iron ore and other valuable minerals in Swaziland. The Africans in these colonies are vigorously opposing a merger.

HOW THEY FEEL: Asians and Africans are becoming increasingly convinced that the conflicts raging—and those brewing —in Asia and Africa cannot be eliminated without eliminating their economic origins. They concede that the world's resources should be made available to all according to their needs, that the industrialized West should not be deprived of necessary raw material. But they will no longer tolerate the exploitation of their resources and manpower for the benefit of foreign monopolists. As Indonesian President Soekarno said during his visit here: "The hungry, the naked and the dispossessed are on the march, and they are determined to free themselves from economic bondage . . ."

While a major power conflict has become unlikely, Asians and Africans feel that world peace requires something more: finding ways and means, through negotiation and cooperation if possible, to solve the problem of severe, worldwide economic readjustments necessary to lay the economic foundations for peace.

Cyprus

Is it spring in bloody Cyprus?
Is Lord Byron walking there?
Does the sea breeze bring a death wind
To a land that's sweet and fair?
Do the ringing songs of Homer
Urge your warriors "Have no fear"?
And what sing the British soldiers
Bringing slavery and a tear?

Does Lord Byron walk beside them
Bayonet fixed, and mind as well?
Frightened at each dark-eyed child
Cringing, hating, aiming well.
Is this for the sons of Milton
Blind and seeing more than you?
Do your ranks include sweet Shakespeare,
Lover of the dawn and dew?

Is it spring in bloody Cyprus
Now Lord Byron has his Three*
All the world of free men join
In this new Thermopylae.

Larry Collins

*The British poet Byron, who died fighting in the Greek war for independence from the Turks, wrote in the third canto of "Don Juan:"
Earth! render back from out thy breast
A remnant of our Spartan dead!
Of the three hundred grant but three
To make a new Thermopylae!

THAT "GOOD" OLD FATTY DIET

Why is U. S. heart disease rate so high?

IS THERE ANY RELATIONSHIP between race or nationality and vulnerability to heart disease? This is a question which many scientists have asked themselves in the light of figures showing that the proportion of heart attack deaths varies greatly from one country to another. For Americans, the unhappy possessors of the highest heart attack death rate in the world, it is an extremely vital question.

Dr. Ancel Keys of the University of Minnesota sums up his own efforts to find out the answer as well as those of many other leading scientists in a paper on Coronary Heart Disease and the Mode of Life, published recently by the journal **Modern Concepts of Cardiovascular Disease.** In sum, Dr. Keys seems to reject the possibility of any race-heart disease tie and strongly suggests that the actual relationship is between heart disease and diet.

NEGRO AND WHITE ALIKE: The Minnesota scientist notes that while the Bantu and other African people who have been studied have a heart attack death rate which is only a small fraction of that prevailing in the U. S., the "American Negroes, at least in Chicago, seem to be no better off than the rest" of the American people. The Chicago reference is to a study conducted by Dr. Jeremiah Stamler of the Michael Reese Hospital in that city. Dr. Stamler, using Board of Health records as his basis for comparison, noted that Negro heart and blood vessel disease death rates were as high as those in the white population, and in fact, in the case of Negro women, the rate was considerably higher than for white women.

Similarly, Dr. Keys notes that "50,000 fewer Americans would die each year in middle age" if our heart disease death rate was brought down to that of Italy, but "Italo-Americans are obviously not immune" to heart disease. Finally, the scientist points out that "Japanese in Hawaii who are becoming Americanized appear to have . . . far more [heart disease] than their relatives in Japan."

THE MAIN CULPRIT: Dr. Keys indicates that he regards diet as the most significant difference which might account for the different heart disease death rates in different countries, with the amount of fat consumption in the diet as the decisive factor. He states:

"An outstanding feature of all populations known to have relatively little coronary heart disease is the low consumption of fats. The amounts of vitamins and minerals are highly variable in their diets, and the portion of the total calories provided by proteins covers the range characteristic of high coronary disease populations. However, no more than 20% of calories from fats is the rule. The high coronary disease populations, in contrast, range from about 35% fat calories, as in England, to the U. S. average of over 40%."

It should be pointed out that this statement would tend to indict meat as the chief culprit, since this is almost invariably the principal source of fat in high-fat diet. Proteins, on the other hand, are often obtained from other foods such as nuts, beans and fish.

WARTIME EXPERIENCE: Dr. Keys asks an important question: "After 30 or more years of living and eating as is customary in high coronary disease regions, is it possible to hope that a change in the mode of life can alter the outlook for coronary heart disease?" Although he makes no claim to having a sure answer to that question, he does cite the World War II experience in countries like Norway and Finland where fat consumption was drastically cut by shortages and "mortality from coronary heart disease fell sharply in less than two years," only to jump up again after the war "with the resumption of the 'good' old fatty diets."

The Minnesota scientist concludes with what amounts to a plea for careful reconsideration of our dietary habits aimed at bringing our fat consumption down while maintaining balanced diets. "Cook books would need rewriting, perhaps, and culinary skill would be at a higher premium than now, but Italian and Chinese cuisines show what can be done without dependence on literally 'living off the fat of the land.'"

(Federated Press)

If Ike runs

(Continued from Page 1)

1952 campaign manager Murray Chotiner, reached his neck, Nixon charted his way on to the ticket and the GOP accepted him. Many thought at the time that its leaders were so confident of victory they could even accept a handicap.

QUESTION ARISES AGAIN: Moreover, as the President's heart bulletins sounded more cheerful and as he golfed as usual, his health became less of an issue. Last week's operation, however successful, instantly revived popular fears for the President's ability to weather four more years in the White House; 66 next October, he would reach an age that would make him the oldest President in office in history if he served out a second term.

Nixon was thus certain to become a more significant factor in the Democratic campaign. There was almost certain to be a revival of the "dump-Nixon" movement by politicians who do not favor him personally—of whom there are many in the GOP.

The "business-as-usual" manner at the hospital seemed too well organized. The pro-Democratic **N.Y. Post** (6/11) said editorially:

"Those who are feverishly reaffirming his candidacy do not visualize him [Eisenhower] as President for the next four years. They are simply trying to extort a final political sacrifice from him to keep the GOP in power beyond November."

COMMENT ABROAD: Overseas the London **Daily Mail** said: "The American public would be less perturbed if even one of the 13 or more doctors who attended the President had counseled caution or restraint or even said, 'Let us see how the President gets along—let us not rush things'."

The London **Daily Mirror** said: "Public confidence in the medical opinions has been shaken by Saturday's operation, and it will take much more than publicity about Ike's golfing prowess to convince them that he is fit enough for another term."

Though none would admit it, the President's obstructed intestine seemed to give the Democrats their first real hope of victory in the campaign. There were few other issues that could unite their party or rally the independent vote.

AVE'S HAT IS IN: By a curious coincidence, while medical corpsmen were preparing the President for surgery, New York's Gov. Harriman tossed an old grey fedora hat from the speakers' platform to the floor of a hotel ballroom. He was addressing the convention of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union. The fedora was a present given to him by the union in 1954. The gesture, planned months ago, was his announcement that he was actively running for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency.

He proclaimed himself a champion of the party's left wing and promised to go to Chicago to fight for the "principles of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman." He called for a strong civil rights position and predicted that the Democratic Party "would come out of the convention a better party because of the fight that I and the men and women standing with me are going to put up there."

He assailed phrases such as "middle-of-the-road" and "moderation," used to describe the position of both the President and leading Democratic contender Stevenson. Harriman said they meant "a front for inaction."

MY FRIEND, THE KING: Harriman rejected the suggestion of David Dubinsky, president of the Int'l. Ladies Garment Workers Union, that he withdraw from the race for party unity. He said he wanted unity in a "liberal Democratic Party."

The Governor's emergence as a "left-wing" candidate had been long predicted and on the day before his speech to the hatters, reporters had tried to get a commitment from him. He said he would not let domestic politics disturb his guest, former King Michael of Rumania, whom he introduced as his friend and a man "determined to protect the democratic interests of his country."

Harriman tossed his hat into the ring just as Stevenson apparently knocked Estes Kefauver out of it and announced that Harriman was now his chief rival.

Harriman commented: "I'm glad to have the plug." His backers said they didn't know what "all the shouting" was about in California and belittled Stevenson's 8-5 victory over Kefauver there. But many thought that Harriman had lost along with Kefauver in California. Whether by design or not, while Harriman was running "inactively," Kefauver was actively attempting to undercut Stevenson in the primaries and had been moderately successful until California. Now the only hopeful voice still raised in Kefauver's cause was his own. It came faintly from beneath the California landslide.

Justus in Minneapolis Star

KEFAUVER'S HOPES: Primaries are usually next to worthless in forecasting conventions. Kefauver found that out in 1952, when he was the clear champion of the primary contests and was nonetheless shunted aside at the convention. To a man with machine support primaries are unnecessary. But Kefauver had nothing to hope for but primary victories that would so clearly demonstrate his vote-getting abilities as to bring to his banner, however reluctantly, those bosses who like a winner.

California did not spell victory for Stevenson but only defeat for Kefauver. The grass-roots campaigner, hand-shaker and anti-boss rebel blamed his defeat principally on the activities of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who campaigned for Stevenson in the Negro districts of Los Angeles. Both Stevenson and Kefauver seem to share the same views on desegregation: they are for it, but would leave the "deliberate speed" of its coming to the lower courts in the South and would bar Federal "coercion." Kefauver had the great advantage of being cordially hated by the segregationists and could point to Stevenson's support from racists like Herman Talmadge of Georgia and former Gov. Millard Caldwell of Florida.

STEVENSON'S STANDS: In earlier California campaigning Stevenson had plainly disappointed many Negro leaders, some of whom openly traded Stevenson buttons for Kefauver coon-skin hats. Others threatened to bolt the party altogether. Nevertheless, when the primary tally came in, the Negro precincts of Los Angeles, San Francisco and Oakland went to Stevenson by as much as 5-1.

Although Harriman forces, guided by Tammany leader and national committeeman Carmine DeSapio, would have preferred to see Kefauver knock out Stevenson, they were unquestionably grateful for the battering given Stevenson before their man tossed in his hat. Stevenson had been forced to straddle a dozen issues. His civil rights stand pleased few. His position against H-bomb tests appealed to peace forces until he watered it by indicating he would favor the tests as long as the Russians went on testing. It became meaningless when he coupled it with an appeal for a "crash program" of developing guided missiles.

TRUMAN'S ROLE: Harriman, on the other hand, coming on the scene too late for any primary contests, would arrive in Chicago comparatively untouched by the muck of battle, championing the liberal cause against Stevenson's moderation, and having at his disposal a sizeable fortune to support a campaign. Since Harriman knows he cannot win the South, he is under no pressure to woo it and can therefore take bolder positions on civil rights than Stevenson.

Buffalo Evening News

"SUNSET FOR SOMEBODY"

Also reportedly in Harriman's corner is perhaps the most influential man in the party: Harry Truman. He is to be a guest at Chicago, not a delegate, but few doubted that he would be a potent factor. He is the living proof that the Democrats can win an election without the South. From West Germany, where he is touring, Truman commented briefly to the effect that Kefauver was out, Stevenson far from in.

Stevenson has in addition to the South the support of most of the big labor leaders (except Dave Beck of the Teamsters and William Hutcheson of the Carpenters who are for Eisenhower.) Before the President's recent illness there were signs that the AFL-CIO officially would take no stand on the Presidency. Reportedly the leaders had so little hope of unseating President Eisenhower it seemed unwise to formally mount anybody's bandwagon.

THE LABOR VOTE: The President's illness, however, so raised Democratic hopes that labor leaders were reported reconsidering their decision. If the AFL-CIO leadership comes out for any candidate it will probably be for Stevenson.

The significance of such a move was undercut somewhat by the Gallup Poll's report that 56% of the nation's trade unionists favor Eisenhower over Stevenson. If accurate, the trend would be the first move by labor away from the Democratic standard since the New Deal. In 1952 Eisenhower polled 39% of the organized labor vote.

It promised to be a rough year for prophets.

FLORIDA PROTEST HOLDS

Alabama court rules bus jimcrow in Montgomery violates Constitution

SIX MONTHS to the day after the Montgomery Improvement Assn. was organized to conduct a one-day boycott of city buses, a three-judge Federal court in Alabama on June 5 ruled 2-1 that the bus line's jimcrow policy violated the U. S. Constitution.

The Dec. 5 boycott, resulting from the conviction of Mrs. Rosa Parks, Negro needleworker, for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white man, grew into a solid protest which is still in effect.

City and bus line officials have refused to accede to MIA's demand for first-come, first-served seating, courtesy to Negro passengers, and Negro drivers on predominantly Negro routes. The suit which resulted in the June 5 ruling was filed by four women members of MIA. The dissenting judge insisted that separate-but-equal seating facilities were legal.

In anticipation of an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, the lower court gave opposing counsel two weeks to submit suggestions on how the formal anti-jimcrow order should be entered and whether to grant a stay pending appeal.

MONTGOMERY ONLY: A clear-cut decision by the high court would be its first on city bus segregation. The formal order to carry out the lower court ruling will apply only to Montgomery buses, even though the state's laws were declared unconstitutional. A separate court order based on the June 5 ruling is needed to extend it to other Alabama cities.

MIA president Rev. King said the ruling was "a great victory for democracy and justice"; but, he said, the protest movement would continue "until it becomes possible to go back to city buses on an integrated basis." He added later that Negroes would stay off the buses at least until the formal court order putting the June 5 ruling into effect. Rev. King is one of 90 protest leaders under indictment for violating an old state boycott law originally aimed at organized labor. First to be tried, the 27-year-old Baptist minister was fined $500 and costs. He is on bail pending appeal.

NAACP "OUTLAWED": Alabama on June 1 forbade the NAACP from operating in the state. Atty. Gen. John Patterson had charged the NAACP with helping to organize and finance the Montgomery protest and hired or "otherwise" paid Miss Autherine Lucy and Mrs. Polly Myers Hudson to seek admission to lily-white Alabama University. Denying the charges, the NAACP retorted that they "appear to be efforts to deny the right of protest against intolerable and degrading treatment of Alabama's citizens."

Negroes in Birmingham have already organized the Christian Movement for Human Rights to replace the outlawed association. F. L. Shuttleworth, its minister president, said the new group was interested only in upholding "the laws of our land" according to the Constitution.

FLORIDA AND TENNESSEE: In Tallahassee, Fla., the Inter-Civic Council reported nearly 100% effectiveness in its don't-ride-the-city-buses campaign. The Florida protest was organized after the May 20 arrest of two Negro women college students for occupying front bus seats. As in Montgomery the protesters are demanding seating rearrangement, courtesy and Negro drivers.

The NAACP in Memphis on June 5 petitioned the Federal Court to order an end to jimcrow on city buses in Tennessee. Next day a cross was burned on the lawn of the Memphis home of O. Z. Evers, a Negro, who is a plaintiff in the NAACP suit.

A rude bridge

Possibly the Governor General of Cyprus could broaden his mind by visiting Concord Bridge and checking up on what those Middlesex County terrorists started. –Boston Globe, June 6

A CALL TO ORGANIZE

"Once upon a time, more than a thousand years ago, there was a succession of Frankish rulers known as 'les rois faineants,'—the do-nothing kings. If the accomplishments of Congress are no greater during the next few weeks than they have been for the last few months, this second session of the Eighty-fourth is in danger of going down in history as a modern American version of the faineants."—(N. Y. Times lead editorial, May 17, 1956)

While politicians maneuver for position, action on Civil Rights, Social Security benefits, Minimum Wage coverage, Housing and Education languishes.

"In the last analysis, it is the public itself that is basically to blame, for public apathy is what political slothfulness feeds upon."—(From the same editorial.)

Only a sustained public outcry can change this situation.

In the light of this the establishment on April 7th of the COUNCIL FOR LEGISLATON IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST takes on new and significant meaning. This is a new organization. It is the intent of the Council to disseminate up-to-the-minute information on the status of bills, hearings, and necessary action.

We propose that in every Congressional district like-minded citizens, dedicated to a common program, establish chapters of the Council to make known their demands and to initiate campaigns.

The Council will seek to recall the people to active participation in public life. It is our aim to put respect for the people into every ante-room of every legislature and make sure that from every gallery there look down upon the proceedings the watchful eyes of an informed and aroused citizenry.

We intend no endorsement or support of any candidate for public office. Whatever one's Presidential or party preference, we invite the support of all for specific legislative objectives.

HOW TO ORGANIZE CHAPTERS:

1—Any ten people in a Congressional district may jointly apply for a charter to the Council by signing a letter to that effect.
2—If you do not know others in your district who might join with you, write us and we will assist in getting a group together.
3—The Council will send a representative to any group within the Metropolitan area needing assistance in setting up a chapter.
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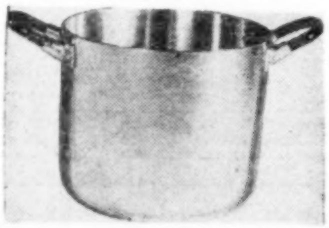

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the SPECTATOR

'The book'

Speakers at a recent Carnegie Hall meeting in behalf of scientist Morton Sobell, imprisoned in Alcatraz for alleged complicity with the Rosenbergs in an atom-spy plot, referred simply to "the book" when discussing John Wexley's The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg *and its effect on changing public opinion with respect to the Rosenberg-Sobell Case. Following are the views of a noted American author on "the book".*

BERTRAND RUSSELL recently expressed his conviction (see p. 7) that Morton Sobell is innocent. There are several aspects to this public statement that are significant: (1) it comes from a world figure who until now has been silent on the case; (2) Russell is only the most recent of a series of prominent individuals who have begun to speak out on Sobell—men like Elmer Davis, who also has been silent until now. There is, in fact, a trend of new support for Sobell that is less than a year old. What is the cause of it?

The answer is the appearance in the past year of a book—John Wexley's **The Judgment of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.** I believe that no honest, intelligent person—however convinced initially that the Rosenbergs and Sobell were guilty—could read through the Wexley book without concluding either that (1) they were innocent or (2) their trial was so unfair, and the testimony against them so suspicious, that the Rosenbergs never should have been executed, and that Sobell is entitled to a new trial.

NOT OPEN TO CHALLENGE: I am not familiar with all of the literature written about past frame-ups. I do know that some cases left certain areas confused, with elements of conflicting testimony that could not be resolved. Thus, Zola's **J'Accuse** was sufficiently open to challenge to permit the army to bring Zola to trial. This is not true of the Wexley book. It is a factual exposure so well documented from the court record, so devastating in its proof, that no one would dare put Wexley on trial for libel—not even Saypol, Roy Cohn, or Judge Kaufman, whom Wexley accuses openly of perpetration of false testimony, of cruel prejudice in violation of their oaths, and of calculated frame-up.

HAVE YOU READ IT? While I am sure that most readers of NATIONAL GUARDIAN believe that the Rosenbergs were innocent and that Sobell is unjustly living out his sixth year of a miserable imprisonment, I wonder how many have read the Wexley book? Far too few I expect. For one thing, not a few people may have the feeling that they already know Sobell is innocent and so why read about it—or why stir old heartaches with grim reading?

My purpose is to try and make every GUARDIAN reader understand why the Wexley book should be bought and read. The basic reason for my effort is simple—Sobell is in prison and the Wexley book can free him!

Reading the Wexley book is a profoundly exciting experience in the discovery of truth. Whatever one has known already about the case, there is 10 and 20 times more to be learned from the intense study put into it by the author, and from the extraordinary qualities of his intellect that play upon the material like a hot searchlight.

These are the reasons why an Elmer Davis, a Bertrand Russell, a reviewer for the **Catholic Worker,** a writer of mystery novels, a scholar in a political science quarterly, have now spoken up for Sobell's innocence.

A MORAL OBLIGATION: If 10 or 20 thousand new copies of the Wexley book were put to work, public opinion on behalf of Sobell would begin to swell. Wherever you know an honest, thinking man or woman—and they are all around us—this book will convince. But it has to be put into their hands.

Prison life is a sad distortion of living for anyone; for an innocent man it is unspeakably cruel. For over 2,000 days and nights Sobell has suffered this. He is doomed to suffer thousands upon thousands more unless world public opinion, supporting the magnificent efforts of his attorneys, frees him. We who are free have a moral obligation to act in a small way at least for Sobell and for justice.

—Albert Maltz

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